another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. Urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected.

241 654 608 No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: (1) he must be made to produce more; (2) he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and (3) his attitudes and values must be radically changed.

The instrument of this transformation, which is visible and active in the villages, is the Party cadre. Party cadres act as the eyes, the ears, and the mouths of authority.[13] "They are called upon to take the leadership in organizing production and to participate in all types of farm work, such as mobilizing the peasants for cultivation, teaching new farming methods, distributing new seed, performing grain requisitioning, helping in planting, building and repairing dikes, etc."[14] The village cadres have been mainly outsiders, "foreigners," but the Party has recently been recruiting youths from specific localities and training them to return there as cadres. The cadre was the instrument of land redistribution and brought into the countryside the first major change decreed by Peking. The cadre organized the Peasants' Association in the village and manipulated its meetings and its officers. It was the cadre who worked up sentiment and organized the "speak bitterness" meetings in the days of the Land Reform Movement -- occasions used to the full to attack the old familial order in the villages. It is the cadre who organizes the "struggle meetings" in which villagers

[13 and 14 next page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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are made to engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to undermine the old values and instill the new.

The cadres also pushed the organization of "mutual-aid teams" for the sharing of labor and equipment, an effort that struck at the familial organization of farm labor and apparently met with serious difficulties.[15] More recently the cadre has been the instrument for the concerted attempt to build producer co-operatives in the countryside. In such major efforts as the attempt to put Hunan rice farming on a two-crop basis (hitherto only done further south), the cadres were reportedly responsible for training 100,000 farmers.[16]

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13. Walter E. Gourlay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Harvard, Russian Research Center, 1952, p. 25.

14. Ibid., p. 28.

15. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects of Communist China, Cambridge, 1954, p. 84.

16. Reported by New China News Agency, Changsha, April 20, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), No. 1036, April 28, 1955.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 / AE12 North China AF12

634 T'ang river to build extra bridges across the river besides those for the main roads and required repairs to be made on the roads. The Bureau reported that under its encouragement another 800,000 trees were planted and 900 additional wells had been dug.

634 185 The programs laid out by the Bureau were very extensive. In the Agricultural Section they included the promotion and development of silk worm culture, the growing of mulberry trees, increasing the orchards and forests, improving the soil and the farming implements. The Industrial Section planned to show the people how to make oil, soap, paper, and artificial fertilizer, how to improve the native cloth and other home industries. They also planned to open a flour mill, organize an electric company, and establish leather tanning. The general plans included correspondence courses, lecture programs for the farmers, agricultural and industrial exhibits, agricultural experiment stations, farmers' forest associations and forest protection police, a monthly magazine, and a general market. Lack of funds and disturbed conditions in North China prevented the implementation of most of these plans.

Agricultural Experiment Station

654 An Agricultural Experiment Station was established in 1916. Twenty mu of land were set aside for its use and $1,180 a year of the money received from the tooth (sales) tax on cotton was allocated to its budget. In 1919 the program was extended by opening a cotton experiment station south of the pagoda, but in 1928 the station was closed and the land used for a public playground.

In 1917 the magistrate instructed the head of the Agricultural Experiment Station to open a tree nursery. Seven hundred mu of land were borrowed from the girls' school and an appropriation of $166 was made for the work. In 1918 the trees in two temples were cut down and sold and the money was used to erect the buildings for the nursery and additional funds were granted for the program. Considerable progress must have been made, for in 1920 the provincial inspector approved the program and sent a certificate of commendation.

In 1921 the girls' school was given 100 mu of land for experiments in raising mulberry trees for the feeding of silk worms.

In 1928 an inventory of the nursery showed 5,500 Chinese cedars, 5,800 silk trees (Albizzia Julibrissin), 6,000 Chinese ash, 7,000 Lindera, 9,800 white poplar, 12,000 cedars, 75,000 thorn ash, and 250,000 mul-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 A AF12 North China AF12

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berry. There were also 31 mu of German ash, 91 mu of willow bushes, and 35 mu of vegetables and other crops.

The 1929 hsien budget included $1,276 for the nursery. Forty dollars was sent to Paoting for the experimental farm there.

Bureau of Education

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The Bureau of Education was the successor, after several reorganizations, of the Bureau for Urging the People to Learn which was established in 1904. At that time the magistrate and the supervisor of the middle schools joined to persuade the people to establish elementary schools. This campaign resulted in the establishment of 130 schools. The Bureau for Urging the People to Learn was organized with a director and 16 assistants, all volunteers, whose only remuneration was a small amount to cover the cost of their travel.

By 1910 the large number of assistants and the lack of individual responsibility were found to be inefficient, so the 16 volunteers were replaced by four paid assistants.

In the changes of 1913 the Bureau was abolished and its work was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government. At that time one supervisor was employed to inspect the elementary schools.

Some of the citizens, who had had experience in educational work, felt that the educational section could not adequately supervise the work of the schools. Hence they organized an Educational Committee of three members to cooperate with the village heads and their assistants in promoting the work of the schools. Before the end of 1914 the educational section of the yamen felt that it was "inconvenient" for it to continue the educational work and the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was reestablished with a headman who was paid $30 a month and five assistants who each received $10 a month.

Forty-one schools were established in 1914. These included two schools with both upper and lower primary grades, and two girls' and 37 boys' lower primary schools. In 1915 the name of the lower primary schools was changed to People's Schools. In that year 159 new schools were established. Sixteen of these were for girls. Six of the boys' schools had both the upper and lower primary grades. A traveling teacher was appointed to supervise the schools. During the next four years, 60 girls' and 20 boys' schools were added and it became necessary to add an extra traveling teacher.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

PART 3. AGRICULTURE

CHAPTER X

Farm Land: Ownership and Operation

OVER 92 PER CENT of the Ting Hsien families owned some farm land. Over 96 per cent farmed some land. All but 5,484 of the 70,034 families were land owners. All but 2,745 were farm operators. Only 1,361 families, 1.9 per cent, reported no farming connection. The average land holdings were: owners 21.9 mu, operators 21.2 mu, all families 20.4 mu. Just under 6 per cent of the land owning families rented land to others. Thirty per cent of the farming families rented land from others. Twelve per cent of the privately owned crop area was rented. Only 4.8 per cent of the farm operating families were full tenants. Only 1.3 per cent of the renters were share croppers. Only 0.7 per cent of the families were non-farming landlords. Twenty-eight per cent of the land was double cropped. The estimated value of the crops produced totaled some sixteen million dollars, an average of some $11.25 per mu and $40 per capita. These are the outstanding figures of our study, in 1931, of land ownership and farm operation.

Accurate figures on the area of Ting Hsien were not available as it had never been surveyed. The official land records were manifestly incomplete as it was generally recognized that there was a considerable amount of "black land" that was not on the books at the yamen and so escaped taxation. We were told that in not a few villages three sets of land books were kept, one to show the officials, one to show the villagers, one, the complete one, for the village elders. We were not able to verify this report but it is indicative of the difficulty of getting a complete land report.

In making our land study we did not attempt to secure the figures of the hsien land office but went instead to the village elders and got from them a report on the amount of land their village controlled. Any error in their figures undoubtedly would tend to be an under rather than an

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.